6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.68(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

warns when it is going to rain by howling in the morning and in the afternoon.

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

of food and drink will be offered them. Conversation, in this case, is confined almost entirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

Women and young girls of the same family, particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*ror*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*bëwa*	*bomitsɨn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *sɔkɔɲé* which is a very strong term.

Reunions. Reunions, although pre-Columbian

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipɔ* (coyeo).

dance which was performed in a circle by men and women with one person singing but the whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

There are various dances held in connection with death and burial but they are seldom seen today outside of upper Talamanca.

Pittier[308] mentions a bone dance performed at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

A different bone dance which is a remnant of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

Songs. All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[307] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[308] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

Attention has been called to the studies of Lehmann and Pittier (*see* Language) on the Bribri language and Lehmann on Cabécar although vocabularies have been collected by others including Gabb. The most common phonemes which we have been able to discern in Bribri are: a, ą, ą́, é, ę, ę́, ə, i, ĩ, o, u, ú, ų, k, l, bl, tl, t, ts. Adjectives are made by morphemes while many verbs seem to be derived from a noun or an adjective and a verb. There are 42 common morphemes among which we cite: au, bá, dí, do, du, ea, ie, ié, ka, kə, kó, ki, kj, kú, Li, ŋę, me, mu, ta, tą, tą́, te, té, tə, sa, se, si, su, uk, ųk, še.

In Cabécar, possessive pronouns are generally prefixes and prepositions are suffixes. The prefix *ŋa-* is employed to change verbs to nouns. There is less use of the stop and almost none of aspirants or barely audible sounds which are characteristic of Bribri. The Cabécar language has recently been studied by Aziel and Marian Jones. The report appears in the second volume of the "Proceedings of the 33rd International Congress of Americanists."[234]

They find that in the language heard in Chirripó there are 31 segmental phonemes, 20 consonants, and 11 vowels. The following is taken from their report:

> The syllable in Chirripó is the unit of tone placement.... The word in Chirripó may consist of a single syllable of any of the syllable types, or it may contain as many as 5 syllables in about 40 different combinations of syllable types.... Within the word all single vowels may occur initial (except į, ę, ǫ), medial and final. There are 13 vowel clusters which always have either i or u as one of the segments. It must be remembered that these clusters each constitute two syllables since by definition the syllable may contain but one vowel. There are no clusters of three. Vowel clusters generally occur word-final but may occur word-medial. The only example of a word-initial cluster is the word *ia'mi* where the morpheme i — *kis* is prefixed to a'mi *mother*. Eight of the vowel clusters contain i as one segment, four contain u, and one contains both u and i. The specific distribution is as follows: of the group containing i (ie, ei, ia, ią, ią, ai, oi, io) all occur final and ia and oi may also occur medial; of the group containing u (ue, eu, ua, uą) all occur medial except ua, and all occur final except eu; the cluster ui occurs only final. All of the vowel clusters are of relatively infrequent occurrence in comparison with the single vowels.

Bribri and Cabécar make frequent use of prefixes and suffixes. The double negative is common. Both languages have considerable nasalization and a tendency to use words, even though they be meaningless in the text, only for sound. Likewise, a syllable or letter of a word often is incorporated in another and stands for the complete word or term. A great part of the vocabulary employed by the medicine man in recounting myths is unintelligible to the layman. Songs also generally have terms distinct from those used in conversation, especially the sacred or curing chants of the *jawá*. It is usual for Bribri songs to contain ancient Térraba (Tiribí), which is not understandable to the present day populace.

[234] Jones, 1959.

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

3. The Sun (*Bribri*)

*539 1. The sun is like us. He is a man. The sun is a very brilliant man. *sibu* left this very bright. He left a place to give birth[340] to the stones.

2. Then *sibu* left a very dark place for the last. [If] *sibu* would not have left us who live, then we would not be.

3. The moon is a woman. Because of this *sibu* left night. [If] he had not [left the moon] to brighten this, it would have stayed horrible, meaning for us in these hours. (*Z*) We see in this dawn that there is a moon, that there is a sun, because of this we live.

4. The Rainbow (*Cabécar*)

1. *bukubLute* is smoking his pipe. This smoke is the wind. He lights the tobacco with the rainbow. This is the spark for the tobacco.

5. We are born (*Cabécar*)

1. *sibu* kept us in a basket. There the large worm swallowed us with the basket. Then there were gourds. There was cacao [which does] not flower.

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3. díwə

1. díwə erər sé. erər wébLa. tąj dəLáLəé díwə wébLa. tąj dəLáLəé é meąt sibu-tə[341] sią ką-ŋiųkaL é-kemú.[342]

2. sibu-tə ema[343] ką tsétséé eątą[343] i-meąt e-batáie. sə-tso'sen é-kemú-paąt sibu-tə, ema ké sokú.

3. síwə erər aLákəL. é-batáie meąt sibu-tə ką tsétséé. é šųŋiųkaL, é-kemú-paąt suLóe iąte, itə sią ichəktə i-jkętą. (*Z*) kąŋina ékį sə-isuę kąŋina síwə tso'sen,[344] díwə tso'sen, é-bata sə-tso'sen buą.

4. Ikba

1. bukubLute kachjmo[345] suagę. jeĩkLęj jene-ró siwą-ró Ikba jenę-wa idua wóigawagęteró. jé-ró idua wəkata.

5. sejé tsikineL

1. sibote sa bLá kokobLənǫ. jéskə sitLá kégLote sə mąLąkpajųmį kokobLó-ra. jera jéaka ka mé ta. tsirú tsǫ́ ką́ worta. (*Z*) sibote iš́á tsitLá kégLoŋa,

[340] Literally, "*sią́ kə́niųkaL*" signifies "dawn for everybody."
[341] *-tə* signifies that *sibu* made or did something.
[342] *kémą* or *kéca* is a form of "no" which is only used in myths by medicine men.
[343] As in Cabécar, there are various forms for "then." The reason is for the sound.
[344] *tso'sen* means "there is" or "there are." With *sə* it stands for "we are."
[345] "Cachimba" is an Americanism used in Spanish for pipe. It is an indigenous word.

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

*539 2. "Oh Uncle," he asked, "Give me [something] to smoke." Tobacco came, tobacco for production for earth.

17. The Cuyeo (*Bribri*)

1. To cure for the first [time], then *sibu* became sick. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo called to cure him. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo to sing for the first [time].

2. The cuyeo went first to cure. Then he went to sing. Alone, he did not know if he would die. In the morning [of the following day *sibu*] asked him, "Will I die?"

3. The cuyeo answered, "Yes, you will die." Because of this *sibu* pressed the mouth of the cuyeo for lying.

Sacred Songs

18. The Staff of the Thinkers[291] (*Bribri*)

1. Now we are going [to hear it] sing.
We are going to bring *itsɨ́* [from] where we went to hide him, to bring him again.

2. [When] we arrive again inside the house, then we are going to sing with *itsɨ́*.

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2. "anaɨ́," isuebškaLa,[292] "mɨ-suešə." duɨ́-bitɛ́, duɨ́-uɨLowa[293] iriria.[294]

17. šipo

1. ɛ́ tsɨ́ kɨLɛ́isúk,[295] etɨ sibu kirínawɨ. étɨ sibutə šipo kié ébuaɨ́k[296] mɛLɛ. étɨ sibutə šipo patkɛmi. ɛ́ tsɨ́ kɨLɛ́itsúk.

2. šipo miɨ i-tsɨ́ kɨLɛ́isúk. étɨ i-miɨ tsak.[297] emɛ kéwɨ iujchenɛ; tə[298] i-ruówami. buLame-tɨ sibutə ichake i-ɨ́tə, "šə-ruówɨmi?"

3. šipo iɨ́té, "tə́ bu-ruówɨmi." ɛ́ kuɛgi sibutə šipo jkə́ tuwɨ i-wobLar kɨ́chok.

18. bišəbLə-kər-keLi[299]

1. ɛmatɨ́ səmí uiɨchó.
səmí itsó tsɨ́k wɛ sərá ibLə́kwɨ,
ɛ itsɨk mɛLɛ.

2. dé-mɛLɛ wɛ́lke,[300] étɨ səmíketkɛ́ tsak itsó wós.

[195] [756]

[291] "Thinkers" signifies "medicine men."
[292] Medicine man's term.
[293] The sense of this is that the tobacco was grown near where *sibu* was.
[294] This is a medicine man's term used in theological tales or songs. In lay tales or when talking *ɨ́ɨ́k* means "land" or "earth."
[295] This word is a combination of *kɨLɨ́* (to cure) and *itsɨ́k* or *itsɨ́k* (to sing). Singing is an important aspect of curing and the two words are often used as one to denote curing.
[296] This only means to cure.
[297] The lay word "to sing" is *tsɨ́k* or *tsak*.
[298] *tə* here in front of *i* signifies "if."
[299] The Bribri consider this title as one word signifying the songs of the medicine man at night to his staff. The complete phrase is equivalent to "the staff of the medicine man."
[300] *e* is "house." This word means "within the house."

[195] [755] [533] [756]